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Sub-Saharan Africa Report



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20 July 1984

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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COST OF SOVIET SUPPORT FOR REGIME INCREASES, NO GAINS SEEN

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 22 Jun 84 p 8

[Commentary by Eduardo Cintra Torres: "The USSR in Angola: Stay or Leave"]

[Text] The Luanda region is the government's garden since it is defended by the Cubans against armed opposition, but it is also its concentration camp, for precisely the same reason.

The Soviets and Cubans are paying almost all the financial costs of the Cuban military presence in Angola because of the difficulties which the Angolan economy is currently experiencing.

This information, which usually reserved Soviet sources are allowing to spread, indicates that the Kremlin is dissatisfied with the situation in Angola. The Soviet-Cuban undertaking has not strengthened the situation in favor of the Moscow bloc.

Soviet dissatisfaction will certainly continue in the near future. There is no solution in sight for Angola and hence for Moscow and Havana, because a negotiated solution is impossible.

Angola, A Special Case

Anatoliy Gromyko, Andrey Gromyko's son and director of the Soviet Institute for African Studies, told foreign visitors several years ago that, in Africa, the USSR confined itself to taking advantage of opportunities--as in Angola or Ethiopia.

Thus, the USSR would act in Africa without an overall strategy, limiting itself to filling empty spaces. In fact, the Soviets have difficulties finding kindred spirits in Africa to enable them to delineate an offensive for the continent reliably. Its world-power strength and its military might have been the major factors for its presence in Africa. The difficulties are enormous from a political and ideological point of view, as the theoretical production of Anatoliy Gromyko's institute shows.

Experience indicates that the Soviet presence in Africa is marked by its transitory nature. The gains are not "forever" as in Eastern Europe.

The Angolan case is slightly different. The Soviet bloc acted rapidly and decisively with the MPLA. The Soviet-Cuban airlift of 1975 is the only instance of Soviet bloc intervention "outside its borders."

In these 9 years, the Soviet undertaking created a situation of dependence which transformed the Angolan question (and by extension, the Namibian one) into a conundrum.

Today, this dependence is humiliating for the MPLA. Eduardo dos Santos, the Angolan president, went to Havana to draw up a calendar for Cuban withdrawal and got a definite "no" from Fidel Castro.

Yet the MPLA cannot free itself from the humiliation--even if most of the leaders wish it, as some information seems to indicate.

The MPLA is a prisoner of the Soviet bloc as a result of the strength of the Cuban presence. The Luanda region is the government's garden because it is defended by the Cubans against armed opposition, but it is also its concentration camp, for precisely the same reason.

Little Room for Maneuver

The Luanda government has, however, some room for maneuver. Unlike Ethiopia, it did not boycott the Olympics and it decided on its own to begin direct negotiations with South Africa which obviously displeased the Soviets.

Yet the margin for maneuver is very small: Luanda is not powerful enough to take decisive action to end the stalemate of the situation, as dos Santo's trip to Havana proves.

Thus, despite all the political and military activity on the Luanda-Windhoek-Pretoria front since January, a strange situation has occurred where much has happened and finally nothing happened. The Cuban withdrawal continues to be the major issue, the Angolan conflict continues to be the second issue and the independence of Namibia is the last issue.

Everything indicates that unless the Cubans truly withdraw, all changes will not be enough to change the basic situation.

The Soviet Union can sustain this situation for some time to come--certainly until the North American presidential elections in November, as it has already announced.

Contrary to what some optimists think, who claim that the Soviet Union is only "saving face," I am convinced that the Soviets will do their utmost to preserve the status quo, which in this instance means defending the MPLA government with the Cuban contingent.

It is less problematic for Moscow to think about defending the status quo--Angola--than trying to dominate Namibia. Namibia is a fiefdom under the regional domination of South Africa and it is difficult to think of a

solution in which SWAPO would be able to set up a pro-Soviet government. In exchange for power or a portion of it, SWAPO will have to turn to the West.

The Angolan Government Has a Price

There are, however, signals that the Kremlin could convert its discontent with the Angolan situation from words to deeds.

It is not just the fact that Moscow has publicized that, with Havana, it is paying the bill for the Luanda government's existence. It is not only the unspoken fact that TASS and PRAVDA mention UNITA activities, never those of the Afghan rebels. More important are the official contacts of the Czech Government with UNITA.

The UNITA delegation did not go to Prague just to discuss the release of the 20 Czech hostages. It went to publicize UNITA. It went to learn that the Prague meeting was encouraged by the Soviet Union and that the Eastern bloc is very concerned about the evolution of the situation--that is, it did not predict that Luanda's inability to control Angola (fact number one) would lead the MPLA government to the extreme "boldness" of abandoning SWAPO (fact number two) and to establish a joint verification commission with the South Africans (fact number three).

If the Luanda government cannot guarantee stability, control the country or act as a safe base, what price are the Soviets willing to pay?

At this point, the ideal for the Soviet Union would be for the Angolan government to achieve again a position of military and political strength which would enable it to forego negotiating about the domestic situation, or at least enable it to negotiate under favorable circumstances without threatening Soviet interests excessively.

However, the military offensives of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] since the summer of 1983 have not achieved any significant success.

The disengagement of forces in the south of the country from South Africa is another hypothesis to be tested if it was the situation of war with Pretoria that prevented Luanda from fighting UNITA. The coming months will certainly prove that not even this increase in forces will allow the MPLA to inflict major defeats on UNITA. The contrary has been proved in recent weeks: UNITA has the offensive.

Will Moscow agree to negotiations between MPLA and UNITA? The Savimbi movement says that it has already made all possible concessions: proposals to share power, retention of the respective armies and "normal" relations with the Soviet Union.

There appears to be no concession on only one point: the Cuban presence which is always presented as the touchstone of the entire conflict.

UNITA is not compromising on Cuban withdrawal as the starting point for talks. The MPLA--or that which sustains it--will not compromise on its presence. The Soviets and Cubans are now trying a trick which reveals its future intentions: the "naturalization" of the Cubans.

According to UNITA, 13,000 of the approximately 25,000 Cubans in Angola have already become naturalized Angolans.

Overnight, Luanda could announce that there were no more Cubans in Angola without any Cuban "Niassa" taking the internationalist soldiers back to Havana.

Still to be confirmed, the naturalization maneuver indicates that the Soviets intend to preserve their positions, covering the shocking blot of the Cuban presence. But this will only hinder a solution to the conflicts in Angola and Namibia. Moscow will continue to pay for the war with the prospect of never seeing any gains.

9479

CSO: 3442/412

SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN TRAINING SKILLED WORKERS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 9 Jun 84 p 2

[Article by Vasco Correia, ANGOP correspondent in Moscow]

[Text] Moscow--The shortage of skilled manpower for industry and agriculture continues to be one of Angola's most pressing problems. The Socialist countries are helping to solve it; with their assistance, technical-professional schools and training centers have been opened in many Angolan cities.

P. Tokmakov, one of the directors of the USSR State Committee for Professional Training, told the Angolan news agency ANGOP in Moscow that the first centers for cadre training were opened in Angola within months after independence, with Soviet assistance. This assistance was included in the intergovernmental accord for economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Angola.

"In organizing the first training centers, we took into account the requests from the Angolan leaders for assistance in training such specialists as automobile mechanics, electricians, machine operators, drivers and so on. In the following years, a center for automobile repair was inaugurated in Lobito and three agricultural technical-professional centers were opened in Lubango, Malanje and Sumbe."

To meet the needs of the state agricultural concerns and cooperatives for farm machinery operators, the Angolan Government decided to open branches of these training institutions in Humpata, Cacuso and Onga-Zangue (the latter two for the training of cotton harvesting machinery operators).

The intermediate industrial training school of Huambo, which trains instructors for the training schools and centers, is an important link in the professional training system. Graduates of the school are placed in the instruction centers, where they train skilled operators.

An interesting joint experiment is the organization of the instruction process at the navigation school in Luanda and the irrigation center in Lobito.

The Luanda center trains motorists, ships' electricians and specialists in the processing of fish and shellfish. There are further plans to open a similar training center for fishing industry specialists at another Angolan port.

NAMIBE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY STUDIES PROVINCE'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 May 84 p 3

[Excerpts] Namibe. The People's Provincial Assembly of Namibe held its 12th regular meeting on 24 and 25 May to discuss socio-economic problems in the Province.

The People's Provincial Assembly noted that certain projects to improve the standard of living of the people had not received the promised financing, and asked the provincial financial representative to contact central government agencies as soon as possible with a view to resolving the problem of funds allocated to the province.

After noting a lack of activity in the fishing sector, it recommended that the working committee linked to this agency submit proposals to serve as a basis for the progressive and coordinated development of fishing, the most important activity in the province.

As for the lack of control over providing quality fish to supply the people, the organisms in charge of supervision and control were urged to be more dynamic in fulfilling their assigned functions.

With regard to supplies of goods and marketing in rural areas, the People's Provincial Assembly recommended that the Provincial Commissariat's decision on shipment of merchandise be implemented. This would provide for the creation of a fleet of trucks to ship products from the existing warehouses in the provincial capital directly to rural areas.

During the working sessions chaired by the president of the Assembly and Provincial Commission, Faustino Muteka, deputies approved five resolutions, one of which involved maintaining the cities clean and sanitary, as this is a basis for the health of the people. The term of office of Deputy Antonio Baptista Gomes was also revoked, while Nazario Augusto Tito, Pulquerio Pedro, Filungamawa and Francisco Xavier Barbante were elected as deputies to the People's Provincial Assembly.

9805

CSO: 3442/399

KWANZA-SUL PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE STUDIES FOOD DISTRIBUTION

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 May 84 p 3

[Text] Sumbe. The fifth regular meeting of the Executive Commission of the MPLA-Labor Party's Provincial Committee for Kwanza-Sul recently reviewed the activities of its members during the month of April.

The meeting also analyzed how the Party's organizations in the province were operating, the politico-military and socio-economic situations, and recommended improved supplies of essential foodstuffs and industrial goods for farm workers and fishermen.

Moreover, the recent fourth regular meeting of the Kwanza-Sul Provincial Commissariat checked progress on the jobs previously assigned to its members and recommended that an electrical motor be purchased for the municipal headquarters in Ebo.

At the proposal of the provincial agricultural delegation, the meeting decided to convert the former "Sadul" production unit, located in the community of Ambuiva in Seles municipality, into a cooperative, in view of its organizational status, satisfactory production indices and the number of cattle it has.

The fisher delegation recommended that the loading docks at Amboim and Kicombo Ports be replaced, since they are delapidated, that salting and drying of fish for later distribution to peasants in rural areas be increased, and that marketing campaigns in the countryside be supported.

Supplies of food and industrial products to farm workers in the area called "Zambia," a reduction in the broken-down vehicles in production units, and a plan to build schools in the community of Cachueira were other points discussed at the meeting chaired by Ramos da Cruz, provincial commissioner of Kwanza-Sul.

Moreover, there will be a meeting of a group of pioneers with Party Provincial Coordinator Ramos da Cruz today in this city to mark the official opening of children's week in the province, which will last until 3 June.

According to the program drawn up by the OPA' [Organization of Angolan Pioneers] Provincial Secretariat, during this period there will be visits to hospitals, nurseries, the Provincial Secretariat of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] military units of the TGFA, the State Security agency and the People's Police Force of Sumbe.

ENERGY VICE-MINISTER CONTACTS BRAZILIAN FIRMS ON KAPANDA DAM

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 May 84 p 3

[Text] Angolan Deputy Energy Minister Carlos Santos is in Brazil for talks with Brazilian firms linked directly or indirectly to the project to build Kapanda dam in Malanje Province.

He has already contacted the Norberto Odebrecht company, whose participation in the engineering aspect of the project has been under discussion with Angola for some time.

Work has also been done with the firm "Furnas," the owner of several hydro-electric power plants. This firm is serving as a consultant to the Angolan authorities in discussions on the proposed contract submitted by Norberto Odebrecht.

At the same time, Carlos Santos has spoken with Electrobras (Brazilian Electricity Company) to analyze cooperation between Angola and Brazil in the electricity sector in general.

The Angolan Deputy Minister of Energy left Saturday for Marimondo (Minas Gerais), where he will spend 5 days. One of the largest hydro-electric power plants in Brazil is located in Marimondo.

Carlos Santos is accompanied on this trip to Brazil by the director of SONEFE [National Company for Overseas Projects Studies and Financing, Inc.] and by one of the legal advisors in the Angolan Ministry of Energy and Petroleum.

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CSO: 3442/399

PARTY EXPANSION CAMPAIGN IN INGOMBOTA MUNICIPALITY

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 May 84 p 12

[Text] The first stage of the party's expansion campaign is currently underway in the Province of Luanda.

Yesterday we visited the office of the MPLA/Labor Party Municipal Committee in Ingombota, where we were informed by the Organization Department's coordinator, Miguel Pedro, of the operations for increasing the awareness of selected companies in that municipality.

Pedro said that operations are proceeding expeditiously and under good conditions created by the boards of directors of companies and their respective workers, with the exception of a very limited number of centers.

At the present time, he went on to say, "we are in the proposal stage and we already have 20 [proposals], 13 of which are from the Supermarkets of Luanda Company and the rest from the Ministry of Construction."

In the municipality of Ingombota, the party's expansion campaign includes 60 companies, namely: DINAMA, ANGONAVE, EDIL, EMPROCI, ENSUL, Cel. S. Muce., Ministry of Construction, TAAG [Angolan Airlines]-Board of Directors, ANGOMEDICA, SOREFAME, ENCODIPA [National Company for Marketing and Distribution of Agricultural Products], IMPORTANG, MECANANG, ENCAFE [National Coffee Company], LELO, HIDROPORTOS, EDIMBA, ANGHOTEL, Ministry of Industry, DINARTE, Provincial Delegation of Education, ERMANAL, Railroads Company, EPTTEL [Public Telecommunications Company], EDIPESCA, DIAMANG [Angolan Diamond Company], ENDIAMA, CONSTROI, Port of Luanda, Hotel Presidente, SILNOR, ETP-Bungo and Base Port, ANCODESPACHOS, National Department of Data Processing, ENSA [National Insurance Company], Ministry of Petroleum, SONEFE [National Company for Overseas Project Studies and Financing, Inc.], ENE [National Electricity Company], ENAS [National Water and Sanitation Company], ENATIP/Warehouse No 1, Provincial Commissariat-Transportation Sector, ENATEL, SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company], PETRANGOL [Angolan Petroleum Company], Ministry of Energy, Manauto 6 and 10, Cometa-2, TEXTANG/ENTEX, INAMET, MINAGRI, Kuanza Bengo Agrarian Complex, EDIMBI, DNUUE, EREBIND, Hotel D. Joao II, EMPROJECTO, ENSA [National Insurance Company], VININORTE, TERMANGOL and EGROSBIND.

Miguel Pedro said that these companies are included in the first stage, since they are covered by the emergency program, and that in the second stage there will be operations for raising the awareness of centers not yet scheduled, and that they have workers who are qualified to join the party.

In conclusion, that party official called for the necessary cooperation of all company boards of directors to create the conditions for holding conferences to raise awareness, as well as the cooperation of the respective workers, who will have to carefully choose or recommend their fellow workers who really have the qualifications required for entering the party's ranks.

11915

CSO: 3442/402

MINISTER DEPLORES STATE OF INDUSTRY IN BENGUELA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 31 May 84 p 3

[Text] Industry Minister Bento Ribeiro recently reported here that there are currently no industrial projects and no possibilities for developing those already existing in Benguela Province because of a lack of infrastructure, and especially a shortage of materials and electricity.

Bento Ribeiro, who began a 3-day working visit on Tuesday, said that his stay in the province was connected with the work of the Consultative Council on the sugar cane product subprogram and on the emergency program for the food sector, to begin shortly in this city.

According to the Minister of Industry, the sugar cane harvest will begin towards the end of June for the country's largest enterprises in the sector, i.e., Primeiro de Maio and 4 de Fevereiro in Benguela, and Herois de Caxito in Luanda.

Benguela Province is the country's largest sugar cane producer, with an outstanding sugar refinery, "Primeiro de Maio," which is a pilot project and the only one, according to the minister, which has maintained acceptable levels of production and organization.

The Angolan leader is accompanied by the deputy minister of industry, Justino Fernandes, and will be visiting some more industrial units in the cities of Benguela, Lobito and Catumbela.

9805

CSO: 3442/399

ENERGY VICE MINISTER ARRIVES FROM BRAZIL AFTER VISIT

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--On Tuesday, the Angolan vice minister of energy, Carlos Santos, left for Luanda after a 10-day stay in Brazil.

The purpose of the visit by the Angolan leader was to continue analyzing the contractual proposal submitted by the Brazilian firm Norberto Odebrecht for participating in the civil construction portion of the Kapanda Dam project.

This analysis was made jointly by an Angolan delegation headed by Carlos Santos and a hydroelectric company, Furnas, also Brazilian, which has had a consulting service for the Angolan authorities during the current negotiating process with Norberto Odebrecht.

The Angolan leader told ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] in Brazil that he was satisfied with the way in which the discussions with Furnas have been progressing.

He explained that the conceptual analysis of the proposal submitted by Norberto Odebrecht has been completed. The next phase will be the "line by line analysis" to be made in Luanda, also between the Angolan authorities and Furnas, within the next 2 weeks.

It is likely that, between July and August, the final proposal will be submitted to the "International Commission for Kapanda" and to the Angolan Council of Ministers, so that a final decision can be made.

The date of the beginning of the work is not known. However, some specialists think that it should start at the end of this year, for weather-related reasons.

Based on some calculations that are considered "optimistic" by the Angolan vice minister of energy, the Kapanda Dam should be completed before 1990.

2909

CSO: 3442/413

FIFTH REGION MILITARY COUNCIL PRESIDENT ON FAPLA VICTORIES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 10

[Text of interview with Rafael Sapilinha, president of the military council of the Fifth Region, by A. Picarra, date and place not supplied]

[Text] In a recent interview with the Angolan news agency ANGOP, Rafael Sapilinha (Sambalanga), president of the military council of the Fifth Region, which takes in Huila, Namibe and Cunene provinces, gave an accounting of FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] actions against the puppet bands in the first 3 months of this year, in which the enemy casualties totaled 72 dead and 25 wounded.

In the same interview, Sapilinha described the current process of the withdrawal of the racist South African troops as a "surrender" and "the result of the indisputable recognition of the resistance and the combat-readiness of the glorious FAPLA."

These and other matters were taken up in the interview, the full text of which follows.

Question: Can you give us some statistics on the actions of our defense and security forces in the struggle against internal counterrevolution and delinquency during the first quarter of this year in the Fifth Region?

Answer: In reviewing the political-military situation in the Fifth Region, we should reiterate the order of the day from Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the party and the republic and commander in chief of the FAPLA; he directs all the party and government organs and the general public to develop an economy in support of the war and to wage war in defense of the economy. This is the starting point for the conduct and analysis of all political, military and economic activity, both in this part of our territory and throughout the Angolan nation. As is generally known, the UNITA puppet bands are still in some zones of the Fifth Region, attempting, by terrorist actions against defenseless civilians, to destabilize our nation's economy and to discredit the political leadership of the party and government.

It might be appropriate to begin by describing the timely response by our defense and security forces to the banditry of the puppet gangs in the first 3 months of this year. We can consider the activity satisfactory, since the FAPLA launched 29 operations, as against 5 conducted in the last quarter of 1983.

Also in this regard, the FAPLA inflicted a considerable number of casualties on the puppet bands and liberated many people from their grip; those people have managed to resist hunger, poverty and the terrorism of the UNITA murderers. Generally speaking, the liberating action of our forces included the following: 2 bases destroyed, 3 cleanup operations, a commando attack, 11 patrols, 4 advance posts destroyed, 2 engagements and an ambush, for a total of 29 actions against the enemy.

The FAPLA inflicted the following casualties: 72 dead and 25 wounded. Some 563 civilians were liberated. Weapons captured from the enemy included 12 light arms, 575 pieces of various types of ammunition, 2 deactivated mines, 11 clips of various types, 2 grenades and 20 howitzers. We burned 166 shelters and recovered 478 head of cattle. We seized 2 South African billy clubs, 2,950 kwanzas, 6,370 Portuguese escudos, a pair of insignia of officer candidate in the armed band, various documents of the puppet organization, a Yamaha motorcycle and 3 sewing machines.

Regarding the FAPLA's vigorous action against the South African invasion, the resounding victory of the armed branch of our people is already public knowledge, confirmed by the almost complete withdrawal of the enemy military units from Cunene Province. So our FAPLA was able to drive back the enemy attack, forcing the invaders to fall back to positions held in 1981 and to withdraw most of its forces to the interior of Namibia. In effect, the selfless efforts of our troops were crowned with success: two electrolytic batteries recovered, a helicopter downed, two 81mm mortars recovered and a South African combat post identified.

A quite energetic operation has been conducted against delinquency in the cities of Lubango and Namibe. Interior Ministry agents have carried out a series of actions, detaining many individuals who were picked up without papers, who were not employed and were engaged in blackmarketing and who were carrying weapons. These were some of the actions of the defense and security forces in this region, bearing in mind that the puppets have a network which engages in subversive activities among the urban population.

Question: What are the other forms of enemy activity in this region, and could you say something about the puppet propaganda among the displaced population?

Answer: During the first quarter, we observed that the enemy sought primarily to carry out actions which had been planned for some time; that is, to strengthen its forces in some areas where it had been operating, to impede the free circulation of the population and to blockade the highways and railways, to prevent the distribution of supplies to the people and to spread its subversive and tribal propaganda.

Examining the specific actions carried out by the puppet gangs during the last quarter, we find few or no new developments, since they have met with a prompt and clear response from our defense and security forces in the Fifth Region. During this period,

the enemy attacked communes and "quimbos" and set up ambushes, mines and bombs. There was some reconnaissance and movement in some areas.

Recently, the enemy has carried out five attacks against communes, one against our forces, an attack on a "quimbo," two attacks against sectors, two attacks against villages and nine ambushes. It has exploded 10 mines and 1 bomb; it has conducted 3 reconnaissance operations, held a propaganda rally and destroyed a bridge.

Among the casualties inflicted by the puppets are 3 FAPLA dead, 14 ODP dead and 32 civilian dead; also 11 FAPLA, 30 ODP and 34 civilians wounded. The puppets also damaged 14 vehicles and burned 45 civilian houses.

Although we cannot supply exact figures here, it is important to note that, in their terrorist operations, the UNITA puppet bands--clearly in the pay of international imperialism, although they claim to be defenders of the people--have stolen various property from the people, such as cattle and money, and have even kidnaped old people and children.

Question: After the Lusaka discussions, we noted a certain slowness in the disengagement of the South African army, as well as consecutive extensions of the stipulated dates. What caused this situation? Is there a new date for total disengagement? Where is the Joint Commission operating?

Answer: As all our people have had occasion to witness, the development of violent clashes between our forces and the South African army--that whole situation-- resulted in the withdrawal of the regular army units of the Pretoria regime south of the capital of Cunene Province. The surrender of the South African army was not a casual act by its leaders, but the result of the indisputable recognition of the resistance and combat readiness of the glorious FAPLA.

At this time, the Joint Commission is in the area of the capital of Cunene Province and another date has been scheduled for the South African military disengagement, to be announced soon by the Angolan side, which has been in contact with the South African side. ANGOP has been basically concerned, I believe, about the reintegration of the people displaced from their areas of origin as the South African army withdraws. As you can imagine, this process is extremely delicate, since very few "quimbos" were not completely destroyed by enemy action.

Normally, our people prefer to return to their "sanzalas" and "quimbos," but it happens now that there are no houses, no health stations, no shops and no schools. The access roads are completely obstructed; the rains have washed out the bridges. The situation is aggravated by the fact that there is still little material support available to the people, and transport means, even in areas which were not war zones, do not yet meet 50 percent of the needs. Hence the solution to these problems implies a careful assessment of all the data we have just referred to and more; this task is not only the responsibility of the officials who are in the area but of all the Angolan people. But the minimum conditions are being created for their return and a Health Ministry commission is currently conducting a survey of the actual situation in Cunene Province and designing an emergency program to handle some problems.

Question: What other aspects would you care to mention that we might have overlooked?

Answer: This region takes in three provinces (Huila, Cunene and Namibe) and we are not concentrating our actions solely on the solution of military problems; we are also trying to solve the economic problems. Our accounting of the first quarter shows that there has been some improvement over last year with regard to supplies. That is, in the first quarter of this year, distribution has been reasonably good, except for some imported items. There was no crop damage, as usually occurs, primarily with fruit. We also have a plan to expand marketing activities. We do have products in the countryside; we have problems with transportation, but we are going to try to solve the problems. Regarding support for our defense, you had occasion to attend the swearing-in of the workers, who fully intend to join in our defense.

We feel that, in every work place, in every factory, there should be a self-defense committee. This is a task that is being carried out, along with the popular vigilance brigades. Here in Huila Province, we are seeing positive results, although there are some delays in Namibe Province; in Cunene Province the [self-defense committees] are already fully functioning. Our people are really engaged in our defense, along with their economic activities.

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CSO: 3442/410

DEFENSE MINISTER VISITS MOXICO, PRAISES 32D BRIGADE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 9 Jun 84 p 3

[Article by Eugenio Diogo]

[Text] Some 20 bandits of the puppet group UNITA were displayed to the population of Luena day before yesterday, during a rally in Primeiro de Augusto Square. The rally was led by Pedro Maria Tonha (Pedale), member of the Political Bureau of the party and minister of defense, who was in the province to assess the political-military situation.

The UNITA bandits were captured by our glorious FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] during military operations conducted by the defense and security forces in Luau, Mucussuegi, Luena and Munhengo. The bandits, who appeared at the rally wearing uniforms of South African origin, included one "Alferes" and one called "Aspirante."

During the rally in Primeiro de Augusto Square, thousands of clenched fists were raised, demanding death to those who have been destabilizing our economy for the past 17 years.

"There can be no pardon for those who abuse, abduct, murder and rob the people. They burn villages and crops and steal our cattle. We want the death penalty for these gangsters," thousands of people shouted when the UNITA bandits were displayed.

Colonel Pedale said on that occasion: "Our main task must be the complete elimination of the gangsters who murder our people, destroy sectors of our economy and impede the distribution of supplies to our people."

Col Pedro Maria Tonha also urged the local population to enlist in the defense and security forces (FAPLA and the ODP [People's Defense Organization]), to respond better to the enemy attacks against our peaceful settlements. For the speedy elimination of the puppets, the Political Bureau member urged the people in general, and young people in particular, to join the ranks of our glorious FAPLA, to strengthen the battle against the armed bands in the service of Pretoria.

"Only by defending our revolution can we guarantee our tranquility," the defense minister concluded.

Also speaking at the rally, Maj Joao Lourenco, provincial commissioner of Moxico, denounced the attempts by international imperialism, through South Africa, to destroy the conquests of the Angolan revolution by any means, resorting to agents trained and equipped in South African territory to bring death and destruction to our people.

The highest official of Moxico Province also noted that the primary objective in defending the country is to guarantee the tranquility and well-being of all the people. In this regard, he stressed the importance of the creation of regional military councils, to coordinate various political, economic, social and military structures so as to counter the enemy attacks more easily; in its desperation, the enemy has not limited itself to armed means to terrorize the people and to destabilize our economy.

Visit to Luau

Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha also went to Luau, where he proceeded directly to deliver material incentives to the troops of the 32d Brigade stationed in that area. It is noted that this battalion heroically defended the municipio against the most serious UNITA attack in that locale, following the traditional example of the fighters of Cangamba, Mussende, Cahama and other areas.

On that occasion, the defense minister presented an AK-47 to Joao Ngola, commander of the 32d Brigade, who distinguished himself in the historic battle of Cangamba, in recognition of his dedication, courage and daring in defense of the municipio.

To the troops stationed there, Pedro Maria Tonha conveyed revolutionary greetings from Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola and commander in chief of the FAPLA.

Addressing the men of the 32d Brigade, who were recently praised by the commander in chief of the FAPLA, Colonel Pedale said the primary task in defense of the homeland and the revolution was to eliminate the puppet bandits who commit destabilizing acts and murder our people. "The correct response to those who disrupt our economy, to those who hamper the operation of the railways, to those who murder our people and destabilize our economy, is to fight without truce and without mercy against the bandits of the UNITA puppet gang," the defense minister said.

In conclusion, the Political Bureau member reminded the men that "you are a good soldier when you have learned how to be disciplined, when you courageously defend our territorial integrity, when you have learned to obey orders from the commander. It takes discipline and courage to be a good commander. Those who are soldiers today, responsible soldiers, could be good commanders tomorrow," Pedro Maria Tonha explained.

Luau Municipio is located about 200 kilometers away from Luana; its economy is based primarily on agricultural development. The municipal seat is about 12 kilometers away from the Republic of Zaire.

Colonel Pedale made a brief stop in Luacano Municipio, where he met with government officials stationed there and was briefed on the local political-military situation.

The defense minister was accompanied on his trip by members of the FAPLA General Staff and other Armed Forces officers.

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CSO: 3442/410

WATER RESOURCES DEPARTMENT FOR BENGUELA ENAMA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 12

[Text] ENAMA (National Agricultural Mechanization Company) in Benguela will soon have a department of water resources, which will be responsible for building earthen dams to collect rain water and conserving water for irrigation, Jose Miranda, provincial director of ENAMA, reported to the Angolan news agency ANGOP.

According to Miranda, Benguela is currently in possession of more than 80 percent of the equipment needed to outfit the department, which will be responsible for the center-south of the country.

Installed in Benguela in 1978, ENAMA offers its services in mechanization, preparation of the land for farming, technical assistance and maintenance and repair of machinery. It is also responsible for training tractor operators and basic mechanics, and for importing and distributing parts and accessories for farm equipment.

Among ENAMA's greatest problems are the shortage of lubricants and the poor work methods in the traditional farming municipalities. "So far this year, we have not even obtained 1,000 liters of lubricants," Jose Miranda said.

The company is installed in the area of Cavaco, an appropriate site for its type of work. "The idea of locating our facilities here emerged when the need was felt to warehouse and repair the machinery which was left here in 1975-- a total of 60 pieces of heavy equipment," Miranda said.

In the first quarter of 1984, ENAMA took in about 39 million kwanzas from sales, work and services performed by the company. Its expenses came to about 15 million kwanzas and it is owed 72,894,089 kwanzas.

The director added that the company would soon move the imported equipment to a park which is still under construction, and the IFA machine shop will be moved from the city of Lobito to Benguela, in order to obtain greater control over the work performed.

ENAMA has 320 employees, 37 of whom are women, and it receives cooperation from the GDR and Bulgaria. Its employees have a consumer cooperative, a vegetable and livestock farm and a recreation center in the Baia do Santo Antonio; in addition, a cafeteria will be inaugurated in August.

6362

CS0: 3442/408

PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS WELCOMED IN CAHAMA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 12

[Text] Lubango (from our correspondent)--In a gesture of great significance to our struggle, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, commander in chief of the armed forces and president of the MPLA-Labor Party and of the People's Republic of Angola, went yesterday morning to Cahama Municipio, Cunene Province, about 240 kilometers from Lubango, continuing with his working visit to the south of the country, which he began day before yesterday.

In Cahama, the brave soldiers of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] and the heroic people of Cunene Province welcomed the comrade president with a real popular festival, singing revolutionary and traditional songs and reaffirming their steadfast support for the MPLA-Labor Party.

Visit to Cahama Brigade

Moments later, the presidential party went to the Command Post of the Second Motorized Brigade of Cahama, where the Angolan chief of state was received by the brigade chief of staff. During his meeting with the brigade command, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos heard a detailed explanation of the military situation in the region, provided by Captain N'Zambi, the brigade commander.

Later, the highest official of the party and state paid a lengthy visit to some military units attached to the Second Brigade, notably the Resistance Platoon Unit, in the area of Miumba, since the president had received detailed reports of the military technology in that unit.

According to Captain N'Zambi, the troop morale is quite high and the political-party work is continuing, with the convening of the assemblies for the JMPLA-Party Youth recruitment drive. N'Zambi added that a third-level school is already functioning in the Second Brigade, to improve the educational level of the troops.

The comrade president's visit to the southernmost part of the country is taking place at a moment when the country is engaged in seeking paths to lasting peace in the southern region of the African continent. For this reason, the visit is highly important, since it raises the morale and the combat readiness of

the troops who, with sacrifice and selflessness, are defending the territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

Also very striking in the military units visited by the chief of state is the "impressive" composition of the "wall newspapers," demonstrating the high level of organization of the Second Motorized Brigade.

"Our motto in the Second Brigade is 'never one step backward,'" said the commander of that brigade, as he presented his officers. He also reiterated that his men were prepared to continue to defend our territorial integrity with the same valor that has always typified the brigade.

In brief but significant words, the FAPLA commander in chief expressed thanks for the warm welcome, declaring on that occasion: "We leave here very impressed with the level of organization, discipline and combat readiness, and we are absolutely certain that the new missions entrusted to you will be carried out with the same valor with which you drove back the last incursion by the South African enemy."

On his visit to Cahama, the chief of state was accompanied by Col Antonio Franca, "N'Dalu," chief of general staff of the FAPLA, Lt Col Rafael Sapilinha Sambalanga, president of the Regional Military Council of the Fifth Region and commissioner of Huila Province, Pedro Matunda, commissioner of Cunene Province, and Lieutenant Colonel Kianda, commander of the Fifth Region.

We note that the chief of state had an intensive working schedule day before yesterday, meeting with members of the Huila Province Party Committee, the Regional Military Council and the Provincial Commission of Cunene.

High Combat Morale

What do the troops say about this presidential visit to Cahama? From our conversations with some men of the Second Brigade, we can confirm that this visit further raised the fighting morale and determination of our troops.

Pascoal Tendani, aged 22, sergeant second class in the Antiaircraft Defense, said the comrade president's visit raised the morale and combat readiness of the troops, which would make it possible to liquidate the armed bands and their bosses.

Joaquim Carlos Jose, an enlisted man, also 22 years of age, declared that the troops feel more secure and stronger with this visit, and will do everything possible to carry out their orders.

Sapilinha Kamati, aged 33, who distinguished himself 6 months ago in Cahama, declared that "we are happy about the visit and we will always fight to protect our conquests."

The agenda for the presidential visit included a meeting yesterday afternoon with the traditional chiefs of Huila Province.

6362

CSO: 3442/408

NEW FOOD DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM FOR LUANDA PROVINCE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] A new system for supplying Luanda Province with foodstuffs, aimed essentially at an equitable distribution to consumers, began operations under the Ministry of Internal Trade in compliance with a resolution of the Secretariat of the MPLA-Labor Party's Central Committee, on 13 March.

At present, during the first phase of the new supply system's implementation, the entities in charge, namely, the Ministry of Internal Trade and the Provincial Commissionership, will start taking a poll of the population, based on work centers. On the district level, still during this first phase, Consumer Registry and Control Centers (CRCC) will be created, to exercise control from their places of residence.

The resolution issued by the Secretariat of the party's Central Committee, for this emergency program for supplying the population, decided to divide it into two phases, wherein, during a first phase, efforts would be directed toward linking the present supply cards with the stores closest to the workers' residential areas.

During the second phase, starting in January of next year, the present cards will have to be replaced by others based on the workers' family groups, to prevent the purchase of products on "speculation" by those with large families.

In its resolution, the Central Committee's Secretariat takes note of the fact that the non-linkage of the cards, as is the case at present, causes "serious consequences," such as the high rate of supply on the job, long lines, insecurity regarding the purchase of products, diversions, hoarding and dissatisfaction among the populace.

However, as the Luanda provincial agent of the Ministry of Internal Trade, Vieira Guedes, explained, "The new supply system must not be viewed as a complete solution to the supply problem."

This is because, as that official remarked on Monday at a round-table discussion with the press, the solution to the problem entails an increase in

production and productivity. He claimed that, nevertheless, the little that is available must be placed at the disposal of those who work.

Also during the round-table discussion, the director of the Supply Reorganization Office (GRA), Francisco Martins, noted that, at the CRCC, there will be a registration of housewives whose family heads are not working, widows, disabled persons and individuals from private firms with under 10 workers.

Also to be registered are the heads of private firms with fewer than 10 workers operating independently, including domestic workers.

It is important to stress that this new system is certainly an experiment that could bring minimally desired effects, if the distribution channels are endowed with increasing dynamism, wherein control and accounting must be on the agenda.

2909

CSO: 3442/413

FRANCE'S RENAULT COMPANY COOPERATES WITH ENAMEC

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] There is a total of nearly 60 auto mechanics among the Angolan technical cadres who are being given retraining, with the final session (each lasting 2 weeks) offered at the ENAMEC (National Mechanization Enterprise) Occupational Training Center, which comes under the Ministry of Construction.

The retraining, in which mechanics who are associated not only with the Ministry of Construction, but also with other enterprises that have Renault make vehicles, are participating, is provided by technicians from the French firm Renault-Industrial Vehicles.

It should be noted that this enterprise, under the guidance of the Ministry of Transportation, is engaged in the construction of a vehicle repair base (Manauto 7), the completion of which is scheduled for the end of this year. At that base, the Occupational Training Center will be created, and will have a training capacity four times greater than that at the ENAMEC facilities.

With this type of cooperation from the French company, which is in keeping with the general principles of cooperation that the People's Republic of Angola is trying to establish with foreign nations, ENAMEC (as well as other enterprises) observes its problems surmounted insofar as the vehicles in question are concerned, with only the solution to the question involving surplus materials and accessories, which is incumbent on other entities, still pending.

We think that, like the cooperation from this firm and so many others located in Angola, cooperation with foreign entities should be given an incentive.

2909

CSO: 3442/413

LACK OF LUBRICATING OIL HAMPERS SUGAR CANE HARVEST

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jun 84 p 3

[Text] On Tuesday, a commission from the General Offensive Against Liberalism and Disorganization found that the lack of lubricating oil at the May Day Production Unit in the Catumbela Commune may delay the start of the 1984 harvest campaign set for 19 June.

The commission, headed by Luis dos Santos, assistant coordinator for the party's Provincial Committee, also discovered that the available bag supply for the harvest is insufficient (about 190,000) and they will be used up during the first months of the harvest alone.

This situation attracted the attention of the commission's members, which forced the unit's director to explain: "The situation will be possible to resolve after the first 3 months of the harvest, a time when the rest of the imported bags will arrive in the country, if there are no problems with the opening of credit."

Other difficulties are the lack of batteries and cadres to repair some damaged machines.

This production unit, considered a priority, but with a deficit, owing to the low price of the finished product, is funded by the General State Budget for paying the workers' wages.

Moreover, the commission also visited the Alcohol Factory, which also has a shortage of raw materials, specifically molasses and waste from the sugar manufacturing which are supplied by the May Day sugar unit when it is engaged in a harvest campaign.

As a result of this situation, the factory management thought it best to reduce the daily production plan from 10,000 liters to 8,000 liters of natural alcohol.

It should be stressed that this production unit was recently visited by the minister of industry, Bento Ribeiro, who was informed about the final completion of the repair and installation of new sugar mills and a boiler that will allow for larger production during this harvest season, set at 30,600 tons of sugar.

2909

CSO: 3442/413

BRIEFS

JMPLA EXPANSION CAMPAIGN--Benguela--The drive to enlist new members in the JMPLA-Party Youth began yesterday in this municipio, in the auditorium of the Municipal Commission, in a ceremony led by Luis Paulino, assistant coordinator of the Party Provincial Committee. Luis Paulino was flanked by Antonio Rodrigues Neto, member of the National Committee and first provincial secretary, and Abraao Libongue, provincial director for the political department of the Interior Ministry. In his address, Paulino began by congratulating the party youth for holding this important event to coincide with similar action by the party. He stressed that, in this phase of development, it is essential to enlist young people who have not only proved their fidelity to the guiding principles of the party but have also distinguished themselves in defense and production and in their studies. According to the plan of the National Secretariat, the workers signed up now will be accepted in late September, on approval of their applications by the municipal secretariats. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Jun 84 p 12] [Article by Domingos Muhongo] 6362

COMETA PRODUCTION FIGURES--Last year COMETA produced 400 units, including highway trailers, flatbeds for general cargo, agricultural semi-trailers and cisterns. It recorded 170 million kwanzas in profits, COMETA general director Jorge Teixeira informed the Angolan news agency ANGOP. By the end of 1984, the state enterprise expects to take in about 260 million kwanzas. During the first quarter of the year it has already produced 120 units, valued at 60 million kwanzas. The company is divided into three large production units, specifically, COMETA 1, 2 and 3, located, respectively, in Viana, Boavista and Petrangol. It receives technical assistance from the French company TITAN, which also cooperates in training cadres. According to Teixeira, because of the fluctuation of the labor force and problems with access to COMETA 2, only 30 percent of the 1983 plan was met. Another shortcoming noted by the director was the delay in the ordering and receipt of raw materials. He said the company was still using stocks imported in 1980. Teixeira divulged that COMETA's major clients are the Armed Forces, ABAMAT [expansion unknown], SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company], DIAMANG [Angola Diamond Company] and the ministries of Agriculture and Provincial Coordination. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Jun 84 p 3] 6362

ZAIRE RIVER NAVIGATION STUDY--Delegations from Angola and Zaire have been meeting since Wednesday in Boma (Baixo Zaire) to discuss questions pertaining to the rehabilitation and navigation of the maritime segment of the Zaire River, the

Angolan news agency ANGOP learned from official sources. This ninth meeting of the Joint Commission is chaired by Cristovao Domingos Francisco, Angola's national director of the merchant marine and ports, and by Ngole Tiki, general delegate of the maritime company, representing Zaire. The delegations will assess the degree to which the resolutions of the 1983 meeting in Luanda have been implemented. The maritime segment of the Zaire River permits the passage of ships between the Atlantic Ocean and the Zairian port of Matadi; it is currently in need of channel-marking and dredging operations. The Joint Commission meets once a year, alternating between Angola and Zaire. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Jun 84 p 3] 6362

COOPERATION BETWEEN PETROBRAS, SONANGOL--The cooperation in the administrative and financial areas between the Angolan and Brazilian oil companies is currently being studied jointly by delegations from both countries. For this purpose, a delegation from SONANGOL (National Angolan Fuel Company), headed by the respective financial director, Jose Victor de Carvalho, traveled to Brazil. SONANGOL's main concerns are: to study the computerized system for PETROBRAS' [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation] financial services, and to obtain the latter's backing for the training of Angolan cadres in the area. Up until now, the cooperation between the two companies has included, essentially, only the technical field. The SONANGOL delegation which arrived here last week has already held two working sessions with PETROBRAS in the city of Rio de Janeiro. On Monday, the Angolan delegation will leave for Sao Paulo, where it will remain for a week. Its return to Angola is set for 19 June. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 7 Jun 84 p 3] 2909

UNION ACTIVITIES IN USSR, CABINDA--Recently, the first national secretary of light industry workers, Manuel da Silva Neto, returned to Luanda from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where he spent 8 days on a friendship visit at the invitation of that country's textile workers union. Moreover, the first secretary and secretary of the union for the labor union organization area of the National Union of Health, Public Administration and Services Workers, Daniel Feliciano and Manuel Joao, respectively, also returned to the nation's capital following their assistance and inspection visit to Cabinda Province. During their stay in that province, those labor unionists met with officials from the UNTA [National Union of Workers of Angola] Provincial Secretariat and the pertinent Provincial Secretariat, as well as with representatives of the entities in the area with headquarters in that province. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Jun 84 p 3] 2909

ODP COMBATANTS TAKE OATH--Kwanza-Sul--Recently, in the city of Gabela, some hundreds of employees of a coffee company, enrolled in the ranks of the ODP [People's Defense Organization], pledged allegiance to the country and the revolution. During the ceremony, which was led by Francisco Bernardi, party coordinator of Amboim Municipio, the workers also pledged to drive the enemy out of any area where its presence is felt. The Amboim Municipal Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party, meeting recently in extraordinary session, learned that about 61 hectares of rice and 8 hectares of corn grown by the "11 November" Enterprise are about to spoil for want of manpower to harvest the crops. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Jun 84 p 3] 6362

PORTUGUESE TRAINING COOPERATION--An official Portuguese mission headed by Secretary of State for Employment and Vocational Training Rui Amaral has concluded an important vocational training agreement with Angolan authorities in Luanda. Jointly signing the agreement on behalf of Angola was the minister of labor and social security. It should be recalled that this agreement comes at a time when the climate of bilateral relations is extremely tense, a climate from which groups with interests contrary to those of the Portuguese government and its foreign policy cannot be excluded, especially in the area of cooperation with African countries. This agreement marks a significant step forward in Luso-Angolan cooperation. In addition to concluding the agreement, Rui Amaral also successfully established contacts with the vice minister of education for the People's Republic of Angola and with the leaders of the ILO and UNDP [UN Development Program] delegations in Angola. [Text] [Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 4 Jun 84 p 10] 11915

DIAMANG LOSSES--DIAMANG [Angola Diamond Company] losses resulting from illegal diamond trafficking have been estimated at between \$5 and \$8 million a month by Belgian experts in that company's service. According to a report on their investigation into such trafficking, presented at a meeting on Friday, the average price per carat was \$150, \$175 and \$158 in the 1980's due to the decline in the quantity of diamonds. The price has now dropped to \$119 per carat. According to the experts, prices fell significantly in 1982 and 1983 despite confirmation of a price increase of \$3.5 on "jewelry diamonds." The Belgians stated that diamonds from Angola meanwhile began appearing with greater frequency in Antwerp's diamond market. Asked about DIAMANG's losses as a result of illegal trafficking, the experts said that misappropriated diamonds have caused that company substantial losses because the average value per carat, normally \$150, has dropped dramatically to less than \$70/carat. They also said that Antwerp had been advised a number of times that illegal traffic from Angola was being routed through Portugal. The People's Revolutionary Court has also questioned defendants Manuel Aranda, Francisco da Cunha and Joao Baptista Maria Rebelo, all of whom are Angolan nationals. Aranda has stated that he purchased stereophonic equipment from Joao dos Santos for 1.190 million kwanzas. Francisco Cunha, owner of the residence where Joao dos Santos, a Portuguese citizen, stayed when he visited Angola, explained that he personally received 17 100-dollar bills from Manuel Aranda himself in payment for the aforementioned equipment. His version of the story is totally refuted by the accused and partly by his fellow defendant, Antero de Brito. According to Manuel Proenca, he handed over the kwanzas which Francisco Paulo later exchanged for dollars at a rate of 1,700--1 dollar per 700 kwanzas--which amounted exactly to \$1,700. [Excerpt] [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 11 Jun 84 p 9] 11915

FNLA ATTACKS ODP POST--A communique from the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), distributed in Lisbon yesterday, reported that "ELNA (Angolan National Liberation Army) forces attacked ODP [People's Defense Organization] installations in the vicinity of Bamba, between Toto and Bembe, in Uige Province." The surprise attack prevented the ODP from responding at all, the communique continued, adding that the 12 ODP members defending the area were taken prisoner and that two of them had been seriously wounded. The FNLA also stated that ELNA forces confiscated all weapons, which included 12 AKA rifles, cartridges, clips, nearly 1,000 rounds of ammunition and 850,000 kwanzas. [Text] [Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 7 Jun 84 p 7] 11915

FAPLA COMBATANTS TAKE OATH--One thousand forty-four soldiers belonging to a new FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] combat contingent took the oath on Tuesday at the Military Instruction Center in Lubendu, the Second Politico-Military Region. During the ceremony conducted by the deputy coordinator of the MPLA-Labor Party's Cabinda Provincial Committee, Gabriel Muela, the members of the new contingent declared loyalty to their nation and to defending its territorial integrity. The deputy coordinator of the Party's Provincial Committee, Gabriel Muele, exhorted the new combatants on the occasion to follow the example of other young people in the jobs assigned to them, and particularly in doggedly combatting the armed bandits. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 31 May 84 p 3] 9805

COFFEE EMERGENCY PLAN--A Government/Party delegation headed by the secretary of the Central Committee for organization, Lucio Lara, has been in N'Dalatando since yesterday noon. When approached by ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY], Lucio Lara said that the purpose of his mission was to study and analyze the coffee problem in this province, on the basis of the emergency program. Yesterday afternoon the delegation had a working meeting with provincial leaders involved in the coffee problem. The delegation is made up of the deputy minister of domestic trade, the deputy-minister of agriculture for coffee, and the deputy governor of the National Bank, Guerreiro Dias, Caetano Joao and Mario Pizarro, respectively. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 May 84 p 3] 9805

CSO: 3442/399

AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT FROM DPRK

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 2 Jun 84 p 2

[Text] Tractors, plows, trailers and other agricultural machinery were part of a donation from the People's Republic of Korea to our country. The donation was given during a protocol agreement signed by representatives of the two countries.

The delivery of this material was made Monday at the MDR offices in Variante by Korean ambassador Hwang Cheul Sou who gave a detailed explanation regarding the operation of the equipment.

This offer comes as a direct result of President Aristides Pereira's visit to the PDRK in 1982. The Korean ambassador stressed that it is a personal gift from President Kim II Sung to his Cape-Verdian counterpart.

Within the framework of the protocol agreement, Cape Verde was offered 1,100 tons of cement, part of which will be used in the construction of small agricultural dams, and part of which will be converted into a fund to purchase agricultural equipment.

The delivery of an additional 2,500 tons of cement and 220 tons of steel rods to be used for enlarging the Ministry of Foreign Trade is foreseen.

The protocol agreement was signed by Korean ambassador Hwang Cheul Sou and by the Secretary of State for Cooperation and Planning, Comrade Jose Brito.

12402

CSO: 3442/401

BRIEFS

PRAIA PORT ENLARGEMENT--The "B" contract of the Praia port project was awarded to the Portuguese firm SOMAGUE, a company which has been doing piece-work on the port projects. The contract was signed on 29 May in the meeting room of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications. The monetary value of this contract, which includes the construction of a small wharf, administrative buildings, a warehouse, a workshop, an access road and the paving of the port area is US\$3,676,237.27. The total project is being financed by the Arab Bank of African Development (BADA). Comrades Omar Lima and Antonio Graca, Secretary General of the Ministry of Transportation and Communications and Director General of Public Works, respectively, represented the government of Cape Verde. The Portuguese firm was represented by Miar da Silva and Tomaz Gouveia, administrators who moved to our country for the project. [Text] [Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 2 Jun 84 p 2] 12402

CSO: 3442/401

RANCHES HAVE POTENTIAL FOR INCREASED CATTLE PRODUCTIVITY

Expanding Sector

Brazzaville MWETI in French 11 May 84 p 2

[Text] The People's Republic of the Congo still depends on foreign sources for its meat supply, importing nearly 6,000 tons per year. Since the country did not have a pastoral tradition, it began toward the 1950s to introduce livestock, to create cattle-raising enterprises and to distribute livestock in peasant circles. This effort to multiply the cattle-raising centers was increased after 1960 by the establishment of three ranches (Louila, Louboulou and Dihesse), which in a period of 10 or 15 years have doubled their personnel and their local production. Currently, the country has five ranches with a total herd exceeding 35,000 head of cattle. (The peasant sector, for its part, has a herd which does not fall much short of that figure.)

The current situation at each of these ranches varies for numerous reasons (physical, conditions of establishment, financing, etc.), and so the political leadership has decided to establish a body which would implement the cattle-raising development policy of the People's Republic of the Congo. This body is the Cattle Office (OGB). It was established in 1973 and initially concerned itself with the management of these five state ranches (Dihesse, Louboulou, Louamba, Massangui and Louila).

Can the People's Republic of the Congo become a livestock-breeding country? This is the question we will attempt to answer in the light of a series of reports, beginning today with the Dihesse ranch.

Dihesse Ranch

Brazzaville MWETI in French 11 May 84 p 3

[Article by A. Boukou M'Bika]

[Text] Steadily increasing production has characterized the Dihesse ranch since it began operation in 1974. Production increased from 309 head in 1974 to 12,111 head in 1982, and estimates point to 14,888 head of cattle for 1984. The Dihesse ranch, the largest under the OGB, has 13,548 head of cattle today. With regard to sales, out of a total of 95,590 tons planned, including 500 heifers and 50 bulls, the tonnage sold in the first quarter of this year comes to 39,397 tons, while the sales estimates for this period called for 16,560 tons.

The birth rate during this period is estimated at 65 percent, with an annual mortality rate of 3 percent for adult animals and 6 percent for calves.

The Dihesse ranch, which was established in June of 1973, thanks to joint financing from the World Bank (credit COB435), France (FAC [Aid and Cooperation Fund]) and the Congolese state, today covers an area of 28,000 hectares. The plan called for the exploitation of 64,000 hectares, in order to reach a herd totaling 35,000 head of cattle in the full operational stage. Purchases were greater during the years 1975-1977, ranch director Bansimba Mavinga says. After a serious decline in 1978, the purchases saw a sharp increase in 1979. It has not been possible to make any other purchases since that year because of difficulties with the heifers.

This situation, it seems, should lead the authorities at the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock to reduce the initial goal of 35,000 head of cattle to 16,000, a goal which is expected to be reached between now and the end of the 1982-1986 five-year plan.

Zones

The ranch currently has four zones distributed as follows:

--Zone No 1, Mouindi, with 13 herds totaling 3,546 head.

--Zone No 2, Lac, with 14 herds totaling 3,085 head.

--Zone No 3, Kilika, 12 herds totaling 4,482 head of cattle.

--Zone No 4, Lannes Maurice, with seven herds totaling 2,435 animals, making a total of 46 herds, 25 for reproduction. It should be noted that the ranch has a variety of cattle including 4,028 cows, 266 bulls, 2,259 bull calves, 760 steers, 3,500 heifers, 2,563 calves and 172 rejected cows.

Problems and Prospects

Where pathology is concerned, the ranch has been faced with certain illnesses, such as brucellosis, which causes cows to abort. This disease was introduced by imported cows.

In order to deal with this situation, the vaccination of heifers between 6 and 9 months of age has been undertaken. Already in 1983, 1,165 cases of illness were treated, with a cure rate of 87.5 percent. With regard to pasturage, the ranch has encountered serious difficulties, above all with the approach of the dry season, because of the fact that the people in the neighboring villages and even transients burn the pasturage, despite the increasing awareness on the part of village chiefs and the appeals from the sponsoring ministry and the political commissariats in Bouenza and Niari. In order to mitigate this situation, the ranch plans to complete 120 kilometers of fire breaks this year.

On the other hand, the enterprise is scheduled to build six huts, three for herdsmen and three for chiefs of zones. Plans also call for the extension of the water supply line over a distance of three kilometers.

All things considered, the Dihesse ranch is an enterprise which has produced rather promising results. But this production unit, which as not had marketing problems, needs to increase the size of the herd, even if this means purchases abroad, in view of the area it has which could be exploited. With the efforts of the party and the state, and thanks to regularity in the annual subsidies, the Dihesse ranch should experience a great leap forward in a few years.

Development of the Herd

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Head</u>
1974	309
1975	1,292
1976	2,393
1977	3,535
1978	4,392
1979	6,464
1980	8,564
1981	10,596
1982	12,111
1983	12,810

Louboulou Ranch

Brazzaville MWETI in French 15 May 84 p 3

[Text] Nearly 2 years after the departure of foreign technical aid personnel, the Louboulou ranch is operating normally.

The figures show this. With 1983 sales estimated at 23,580,000 francs, the actual figure proved to 40,302,897 CFA francs, representing 170 percent fulfillment. As to the birth rate, it increased from 40 percent in 1982 to 55 percent in 1983. During this period, the livestock acquisition rate remained stable, or perhaps increased slightly.

The results developed from 85 percent in 1982 to 90 percent in 1983.

According to ranch director Jean-Marie Bassoukissa, the mortality rate also saw a net improvement. Between 1978 and 1982, it ranged between 4 and 6 percent, while in 1983, it was only 3 percent. This performance was achieved thanks to supervision of the livestock, which was not done or not done very seriously in the preceding years.

On the level of improvement of the pasturage, the 1983 program was 100 percent fulfilled. As proof, two huts were built, one at the central "dipp" and the other at the second camp, at a total cost of 1,200,000 CFA francs.

With regard to the cattle bridges, it should be noted that of the five planned for 1983, only two were completed.

On the other hand, the ranch acquired an office complex costing more than 8 million CFA francs (furnishings included).

Among the factors which contributed to the achievement of these results, we should note the state subsidy in the amount of 40 million francs, and the nonreimbursable aid from the Louila ranch totaling 15 million CFA francs.

In fact, the Louboulou ranch was established in 1968 thanks to European Development Fund (EDF) financing.

From 1968 to 1978, the ranch was managed by the BDPA [Bureau for the Development of Agricultural Production], which, after its failure in 1978, changed its JVC partner. The initial goal was 11,000 hectares, with 6,000 head including 1,600 bulls. By 1978, the BDPA had reached a total of only 2,335 head on 4,000 hectares.

Currently, the ranch has a herd of 3,728 head and almost 9,000 hectares under exploitation, with 135 kilometers of fencing. However, there is a dark aspect, which creates a problem in the management of pasturage, and leads to strayed animals: accidental brush fires. This is a situation to which a solution truly must be found in the coming years, in order to allow the ranches to carry out their annual programs. The performance seen to date suggests happy prospects for the Louboulou ranch.

The task ahead involves continuing these achievements with a view to more remarkable development of this production unit. The determination and devotion of the personnel on this ranch justifies our hope for a better future.

Louamba Ranch

Brazzaville MWETI in French 17 May 84 p 3

[Article by A. Boukou M'Bika]

[Text] Located 25 kilometers from the commune of Nkayi in the Bouenza region, the Louamba ranch, a public state establishment of a pastoral and commercial nature which was established in 1962, is progressing despite some difficulties in livestock control due to the lack of equipment.

In 1983, the ranch reached a total of 8,331 head of cattle, as against plans calling for 7,349. Currently, the enterprise has a total of 8,499 head, and utilizes an area of 7,251 hectares, with about 198 kilometers of fencing. The director of the ranch, Boniface Makounia, with whom we talked, said that an effort has been made since 1980, when the herd totaled 5,648 head.

During this period, the turnover total has increased, from 51,109,280 francs in 1982 to 91,602,052 francs in 1983. The explanation lies, the director explained, in the increase in kilograms of beef which influenced sales.

In fact, livestock breeding in earlier years involved vast areas (1,500 to 2,000 hectares) for each enclosure. We learned that this situation made the roundup of animals difficult. But thanks to the efforts of the party and the state, both financial and material means have been made available to the ranch since 1980. This has made it possible to undertake the gradual reduction of the size of the enclosures and therefore to guarantee better control and supervision of the livestock. However, in view of the overgrazing of the pastureland, the solution planned remains the acquisition of new land, which will really make it possible to alleviate the crowding in the pastures of the ranch.

Thus the year 1984 looks very promising on the production level, to the extent that the structures have been established. Optimism prevails on the management level. Also, with the Ndama strain of cattle currently being raised on the ranch and the very close inbreeding being pursued, with the consequent reduction in animal size, the enterprise plans to introduce new stud bulls to renew the bloodline in the course of 1984.

As can be seen, the Louamba ranch is consolidating in terms of the results obtained in the field. The task remaining is to achieve the principal goal, mastery and control of 90 percent of the herd in 1985, in order to allow the ranch to continue to advance.

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CSO: 3419/719

MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXCHANGE VIEWS

Brazzaville ETUMBA in French 26 May 84 p 9

[Text] Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti met with Congolese Minister of Foreign Affairs Pierre Nze, who is paying an official visit to Italy, on 21 May.

During their talks, certain aspects of the international situation, and in particular those most closely affecting problems on the African continent, were discussed. The two ministers had a useful exchange of ideas on the subject of recent developments and prospects in the southern part of Africa.

In particular, Minister Andreotti confirmed Italy's total opposition to the racist policy of apartheid, which is still in effect in South Africa, and the modifications of which have been entirely inadequate to date. The problem of coexistence among the various peoples in southern Africa, the minister said, cannot be definitively resolved without eliminating this discriminatory system through dialogue among the interested parties.

Minister Andreotti also confirmed to his Congolese counterpart the consistent line of Italian policy toward Africa. That country is committed to encouraging the peaceful development of the countries on this continent within an effective framework of nonalignment. Within this context, he expressed his appreciation for the efforts recently made by the People's Republic of the Congo to promote effective dialogue likely to provide a solution to the crisis in Chad.

The two ministers reviewed bilateral relations, and in particular the conclusions reached by the mixed economic cooperation commission which met in Rome last week. Within this framework, a more profound examination was made of the prospects and priorities for the cooperative activities with a view to development pursued by Italy to the benefit of the Congo. These activities have involved financial commitments totaling about \$14 million to date. Ministers Andreotti and Pierre Nze also noted with satisfaction the positive development of economic relations between the two countries, and it was stressed on behalf of the Congo that Italy represents the leading export market for that country, with a quota of about 27 percent. Also, the interest in subsequent expansion of economic cooperation with Italy in the priority sectors for the development of the country was stressed.

BRIEFS

MILITARY ACADEMY--China and the Congo signed an agreement in Brazzaville on 12 May pertaining to the building of a military academy, the New China News Agency has reported. According to this agreement, the academy will be able to accommodate 300 students and a certain number of teachers and other employees. The construction area of the academy will come to about 15,000 square meters. The document in question was signed by the economic attache at the Chinese Embassy in the Congo, Comrade Li Pingming, and the director general for logistics at the Congolese Ministry of Defense, Joseph Joseph Sarlabout. [Text] [Brazzaville AGENCE CONGOLAISE D'INFORMATION in French 17 May 84 p 3] 5157

CSO: 3419/719

BRIEFS

GUINAVE REHABILITATION--During the II Convention of Lome, the European Investment Bank (BEI) will grant our country a loan of 3.8 million bills (close to 260 million Guinean pesos) to be used for the restoration of GUINAVE, the Guinean naval shipyards. The long-term loan (20 years at 2 percent interest on the amount of capital) granted by BEI will help finance a project that includes dredging the access channel and the recovery of the shipyard machinery and installations. After several years of almost total inactivity, the shipyards were reopened in November 1981, but their state of operation was below capacity due to the lack of accessories and machinery. We recall that GUINAVE includes an inclined towing area capable of receiving vessels weighing up to 240 tons, a dry dock that is presently not operational and a score of workshops. [Text] [Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 2 Jun 84 p 3] 12402

CSO: 3442/401

MALI MOUNTS 'OPERATION WATERFIND' TO COMBAT DROUGHT

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Jun 84 p 2]

[Text] An absolutely unprecedented campaign of consciousness-raising, complete with assemblies to discuss survival and development, is helping to focus attention on the shocking nature of the present situation. While the Western world frets about over-production and surpluses, another portion of humanity is barely managing to stay alive and in many instances is doomed to starve to death. It was with this in mind that we designed the operation I want to talk to you about, by way of practical example.

The Facts

Mali, like so many other countries, has fallen victim to pitiless, multi-year drought. This phenomenon, peculiar to the Sahel, means that Mali is suffering cruelly from the devastating impact of the desertification process of which we hear so much these days. Wave upon wave of migration in hopes of escape from famine and desolation mean that more and more country people, despair in their souls, are quitting their now-waterless fields and villages and drifting toward the towns that are already incapable of providing water and food for their own... And yet, you can find water practically anywhere, if you have the technical means for drilling wells 40 to 100 meters deep, piercing layers of living rock, down to where the water is.

Action

Contemplating this tragedy, and with the support of several European countries, the Malien government has adopted and is implementing "Operation Waterfind," a plan, in addition to public works designed to conserve surface water, concentrates on sinking wells. Prime mover in the task is the Mali Living Water Association, headed by Fr Verpieren. With three mobile drilling units equipped with all the proper tools for the work, it can in many cases find water and restore life and hope -- but in nowhere near the amounts needed to come seriously to grips with the whole problem.

The Project

What must be done is to provide the indispensable "something more," on two levels:

In quantity, because, despite the efficiency of the mobile units, the three now available cannot meet the tremendous and tragic need with which we are all familiar; a fourth unit, with the latest equipment in good condition, would of course constitute a major contribution.

Still more important, on the qualitative level, the fact is, and the reasons are entirely understandable, that the government's plan aids at meeting the most obvious economic requirements and so encourages well-drilling in towns and cities. By so doing, this strategy -- unquestionably indispensable, merely accelerates the migratory tide from the country villages to the towns, thereby aggravating the human and economic consequences of the situation.

This is why, at a meeting held on 3 October 1983 in Alencon, French towns that had "twinning" with Malien towns deemed it necessary to take concerted action in this emergency.

Ways, Means, and Procedures.

French towns and cities already twinned with Malien towns and cities have individually taken it upon themselves to collect money by whatever means they find most efficacious. Joining together on a special committee set up by the French Twinned Cities Association (AFCU), they are pooling all the contributions they have gathered to buy a mobile well-drilling unit, of which they will retain ownership. The unit will be made available to a new association set up by Fr Verpieren and already recognized by the Malien government: Les Amis de Mali Aqua Viva.

A year-by-year drilling plan will be drawn up jointly by the new association, which includes the local leadership of the twinned Malien cities, and in concert with the French towns involved. The plan aims primarily at enabling the people in regions around the twinned towns to stay in their villages.

Means

First of all, the sum of 5 million francs must be found. The mobile unit is going to cost about 2 million, and the same amount will be needed to cover its operation and maintenance for the first year. At that time, and in agreement with Fr Verpieren, the local people will take over

The French towns involved have already put forth considerable effort; support from the general public, individually or through twinning committees, and sundry local associations or institutions, is well in excess of expectations. Even so, none of this would be possible without the support of the media and without help from local governments as well.

Conclusion

In addition to the humanitarian concerns implicit in this operation, it is remarkable on three more counts: first, it is rare indeed for French towns to join together, through their respective committees, in a common endeavor; second, the way French and Malien towns involved have worked in concert on the drilling program makes this operation a most innovative example of cooperative endeavor; and, lastly, Fr Verpieren's support and his presence with his team on the ground provide this trail-blazing effort with a unique guarantee of effectiveness and of fidelity to its original intentions.

It is high time we became aware that every action undertaken lies at the crossroads between the heart and the mind; when the peoples now in peril have been rescued, and if we can help them along the road to development, their entry into the world's mainstream will be a blessing to all the nations of earth.

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CSO: 3419/790

ABUSE OF POWER; CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE PERSISTS

Paris LE MONDE in French 20, 21 Jun 84

[Article by Jacques de Barrin; Two part series on unrest, reconstruction]

[20 Jun 84 p 7]

[Text] Namugongo—"UNLA boys"¹: The crime was signed in chalk on one of the walls of the Anglican seminary of Namugongo beneath an accusation in Luganda that was the equivalent of a judgment: "You Christians, you are trying to shelter the guerrillas; you are all going to die." Reverend Godfrey Bazira was executed and his students manhandled. According to reports by witnesses, for 4 days, from Monday 21 to Friday 25 May, some 300 regular army soldiers, who arrived in trucks and armored vehicles from Kampala, 14 km from there, occupied and laid waste the site where on 3 June 1886 32 pages of the kabaka, the king of Buganda, were burnt alive for having refused to renounce their faith. On the pretext of tracking down "National Resistance Army" (NRA) "bandits," who not far from there had a few hours before attacked the satellite station of Mpoma, the soldiers indulged in bloody reprisals in the surrounding country against all those who made the mistake of being in their way. The final count, which does not include those missing, came to over 100 dead.

A "Long Agony"

The forces of "law and order" systematically sacked and looted the neighboring villages, butchering the cattle and setting fire to over 70 houses. On the wall of one of the huts — the home of a school-teacher — they scrawled: "Lubiri cowboys."² A Catholic center for pensioners, located near the sanctuary of Namugongo, which Paul VI visited in August 1969, was thoroughly sacked, from the dispensary to the sacristy. The loot — cars, bicycles, television sets, sewing machines, mattresses and medicines — was then evacuated with trucks and the excess goods burned on the spot. Furthermore, these vandals engaged in the commission of sacrilegious acts. Thus they set fire to the little mosque at Kito, not without having taken care to slaughter a pig inside it before doing so and, once it was well-roasted, they ate it with gusto, using pages from the Koran as plates.

In an official communique — which has not yet been seen — the Ugandan Government expressed its "profound regrets" for the loss of human lives and in embarrassed terms admitted that the regular army was to a certain extent responsible

for this massacre. "The soldiers were not drunk. They knew very well what they were doing," a witness told us. For Mr Paul Ssemogerere, the chairman of the Democratic Party (DP), the chief party of the legal opposition, "it's obvious that someone incited these soldiers to act in such a savage manner."

Despite the government's assurances, the population has today deserted the area. Some of them return long enough to gather something to feed themselves with in their fields. Meanwhile, on Sunday 3 June, on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage, the holiday crowd had occupied the sanctuary of Namugongo. In his homily the Catholic bishop of Soroti alluded to "the long agony the country is going through," while in his the protestant bishop of Kigezi underlined: "What has happened here is, alas, happening elsewhere in Uganda."

The Namugongo massacre is certainly not a simple "flaw." The regular army engages in similar reprisals practically everywhere throughout the country against the civilian population, which is in its eyes guilty of [exchanges of] "intelligence" with NRA "bandits" or their likes. This was the case at the end of February when the soldiers regained control of Masindi, north of Kampala, which for several hours had fallen into the hands of dissidents led by their leader, Mr Yoweri Musuweni. This was also the case in early June when these same soldiers appeared in Hoima, northwest of the capital, on the heels of these same dissidents.

In the Karamoja, in the northeastern part of the country, the hunt for cattle rustlers engaged in by the regular army with the aid of Kenyan units since mid-March has degenerated into all sorts of violence: villages wiped off the map, crops destroyed, cattle slaughtered. Even helicopters supposedly participated in these "nabbing" operations. At Tokara the Hospital Without Borders (HSF) team has been forbidden to care for the victims of these exactions. Ugandan authorities have already "penned" several thousand families in the camps of Kapedo and Namalu. Over 20,000 shepherds and farmers have succeeded in fleeing to the Southern Sudan, in leaving a region where they could not plant their crops and which, with drought contributing to it, is in danger of experiencing a new famine in the months to come.

In Southern Uganda persecutions are still going on against the Banyarwandas, whom the Kampala government persists in denying the status of full-fledged nationals. A hundred thousand of them live in inland camps. These past few years 40,000 others have found asylum in Tanzania and Rwanda.³ In a recent report the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) does not reject the possibility of a new flareup of violence against this ethnic group and asks whether "the central government has the political determination and material wherewithal for preventing or containing it."

In Buganda, in immediate proximity to the capital, there is still the black spot formed by the three "hot" districts of Luwero, Mpigi and Mubende. Incapable of controlling the dissidence the region is infested with, for lack of a better method, the regular army engages in a policy of terror with respect to the civilian population. Of course, most of the forty-odd camps the government had opened to protect farmers from the "bad influences" of NRA "bandits" were recently closed down and their residents invited to go home. Nevertheless,

many of them have regrouped for reasons of security around rural market towns while others come and go between their homes and their fields, ready to disappear into the wilds at the slightest alert, as soon as they get wind of the presence of soldiers in the neighborhood.

The situation has gotten worse in this area since last fall, so that, today on the defensive, the regular army no longer puts on kid gloves with the natives, whom it ransoms, rapes and kills at will. In the villages the younger members of the Ugandan People's congress (UPC), the party in power, play the role of informers. Behind their dark glasses they spy on everyone whose behavior seems suspect to them and turn them over to the soldiers, who assume responsibility for doing the "dirty work." When they launch punitive operations, the latter prefer to attack their victims with cold steel rather than using firearms, which would give them away. A striking contrast to the illustrations in the "Fighter's Manual" — translated into English and Swahili — which the International Committee of the Red Cross of Geneva (CICR) distributes to garrison units in the region and in which we can see soldiers feeding children and coming to the aid of old people.

Rampant Anarchy

In such a climate of violence the humanitarian organizations (CICR, Save the Children Fund, OXFAM [expansion unknown]) are having more and more difficulty in accomplishing their mission, suspected as they are by Ugandan authorities of deliberately or not providing dissidents with aid. They therefore frequently find themselves being forbidden access to the area for reasons that are often alien to the imperatives of security. Be that as it may, the CICR must henceforth limit its food distributions to two hospitals and the camps of Bukomero, Kiboga and Nakasi and see to it that rations for no more than 4 days are provided.

The schools are still open in the Luwero, but the Christian missions have withdrawn elsewhere. In the hands of a team of German doctors, the only hospital in the area — the one in Nakasere — is open only to patients who can show a receipt for having paid their taxes at the roadblocks. The purpose of this maneuver is to keep suspects who are a priori "displaced persons," stripped of any official papers, from going to them for care. If farmers are not today harassed in their fields, it is simply because the army profits by it and has already confiscated a good part of the corn, beans and banana crops, with which it will feed itself, and the coffee crop, which it will dispose of in the markets.

Alongside these overtly and shamelessly committed crimes and extortions there are many others which the forces of "law and order" are guilty of in the secrecy of their hideouts. The "luckiest" of the "political" and "common rights" prisoners are the inmates of the 93 prisons and police stations placed under the control of the Ministry of Interior which the CICR has obtained the right to visit. These delegates have now almost completed their tour and have thus seen over 10,000 prisoners. More specifically, they have been able to provide them with material — in the form of blankets, mattresses, soap, etc. — and moral aid by delivering mail from them to their families.

But what about those prisoners guarded in secrecy, specifically in the barracks of the capital" Buaya, Lubiri, Makindye? The very rare Ugandans who have managed to escape are even today still describing the scenes of horror they were witness to and sometimes the victims of. Promised almost certain death, these prisoners are supposed dissidents or individuals from whom the army is trying to appropriate their property. A long "footage" produced by the NRA (sic) film services and photographed the day after the attack on Masindi shows the bodies of rather young men in common graves located south of Luwero whose skulls here beaten in with blows from an iron bar, all of which leads us to believe, according to observers, that they were dumped there by Makindye jailers.

Some people have drawn up a long list of the interrogation centers in Kampala where suspects are subjected to questioning: Nile Mansion, Afro-Motors, the Milton Obote Foundation, Uganda House, Argentina House and — recently it seems — the State Security Chamber in the section of town of Nakasere. The private militias of the country's principal leaders, particularly the one controlled by the much-dreaded C.R. Rwakasiisi, the minister of state to the Office of the President of the Republic, actively participate in this "dissident hunt, going out, if necessary, as they still do, to track them down in Kenya, on the streets of Nairobi.

And then, at the end of the chain, there is the kind of violence that winds up being unnoticed, banal because it is a daily occurrence, that of these people in uniform — how shall we refer to them otherwise? — who on their own behalf or that of the head of the band, gratuitously or out of sadism, kill and rape, sack and rob.

At 1000 hours of the 27 May in Kabala, 400 km south of Kampala, a soldier "knocked off" the young son of an Anglican pastor right in the middle of the street. At 0700 hours of the 5 June in a suburb of the capital, on the road to Hoima, a soldier "scored" on a collective taxi, wounding several passengers. Simple miscellaneous acts: Probably neither one nor the other of these "sharpshooters" were concerned. It was night in Kampala, the bursts of automatic weapons as well as the cries of women in the clutches of looters or brutal soldiers scarcely seemed to trouble the sleep of the inhabitants any more. You have to be a stranger to still be moved by it.

On the roads, along the rail lines and sometimes even at the doors of certain ministries, particularly at the Ministry of Information, soldiers pass the hat on the pretext of an I.D. check. A soldier's monthly wage — 2,000 shillings, or 40 francs — when it happens that it is paid him, is, it is true, far from being enough to keep him alive. Ordinarily, the "toll," the payment of which foreigners are exempted from, is 100 shillings, or 2 francs. There are official roadblocks established on the basis of higher orders. The noncom sets the take he expects from his men: "25,000 shillings for me, the rest for you." There are also "wild" roadblocks set up by an individual in uniform who works for himself. In either case it is useless to try to talk your way out of it: If he cannot pay, someone who is traveling by train, for example, is invited to get off and continue on his way on foot.

In the face of this rampant anarchy that authorizes any sort of violence, many Ugandans conclude that the situation the country is in has never been worse and cases of assault and battery never more numerous. "Idi Amin Dada used to control his army," you hear people say. "You didn't see people in uniform playing little soldier. Farmers weren't cooped up in camps and they didn't burn villages. In those days justice was swift, but selective: It was aimed at all those who from near or far offended the dictator. Now, with Milton Obote, they kill anyone at all without any reason. No one is safe from the whims of these undisciplined soldiers."

Uganda must have fallen pretty low for many natives, for good reason in despair, to today go so far as to in a way rehabilitate Amin Dada's image, to admit that not all regimes "of murder and terror" resemble one another, that some are worse than others.

FOOTNOTES

1. Uganda National Liberation Army.
2. Lubiri is one of the three big barracks of Kampala.
3. According to the HCR, about 800,000 Ugandans — citizens or residents — that is, 6 percent of the country's total population, are "displaced persons" inside or outside its borders and need a grant-in-aid from the international community estimated at nearly \$70 million for 1983-1984.

[21 Jun 84 p 5]

[Text] The forces of "law and order" are sowing terror in Uganda on the pretext of hunting down active dissidents in several regions. Repression, persecutions and extortions have reached such a point that some Ugandans are almost going so far as to miss the dictatorship of Idi Amin Dada. (LE MONDE, 20 June)

Kampala—Every week the weekly MUNNANSI (THE CITIZEN) publishes a list of about 70 persons whose murder it has authenticated. The latest victim — Bikwaso, of the village of Kiwoko — whose name figures in the 5 June issue, bears the number 1,700. At this rate it would take this weekly almost 3 decades to list everyone who has disappeared since Mr Milton Obote's return to power in December 1980 if the figure of 100,000 dead advanced by Mr Paul Ssemogerere, the chairman of the DP, is confirmed. An endless task, however, since violence is a daily affair in Uganda.

Yet, last fall we believed that perhaps the country was in the process of emerging from a long tunnel. Government troops seemed to be chalking up points against the NRA, led by Yoweri Musuveni, who lacked external support. We even had a hint of signs of an economic "takeoff," and UN experts had no end of praise for this country that had its heart set on scrupulously applying the money it received from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). A fragile impression.

As though the return to normalcy depended on a single man, the death last December of Gen David Oyite Ojok, then chief of staff of the Armed Forces, in a helicopter accident ruined all these frail hopes. For the first time since the fall of Idi Amin Dada in April 1979, in January four Europeans — three Swiss and one Englishman — were killed near Kampala under still not very clear circumstances. In February NRA guerrillas laid siege to the barracks at Masindi, north of the capital, and seized an enormous store of arms and ammunition.

The Decomposition of the Army

The impression that the NRA has resumed the initiative in the field has just been confirmed by the surprise attack launched on 2 June by the dissidents on Hoima, located 150 km northwest of Kampala. In control of the town for several hours, the guerrillas cleaned out the barracks, the police station, a food warehouse, a shoe store and the Commercial Bank of Uganda, where they laid their hands on 15 million shillings, or 300,000 francs. They they organized a soccer game among themselves, after which Yoweri Musuveni addressed the population. "We are not bandits, but freedom fighters," he said. Then, before leaving the town, the "boss" of the NRA went to the home of the district official to sign the golden book. They could not have found a better way of ridiculing the central government.

The success of such bold raids can be explained as being due to the advanced state of decomposition the government's army has been in since the disappearance of General Ojok, who exercised some control over it. Everyone agrees that he managed to be obeyed and did not hesitate to go into the field to get undisciplined soldiers back into line. The chief of staff, who also headed the Coffee Marketing Office, from which crop the country derives over 95 percent of its foreign exchange, might in time have represented a threat to Mr Milton Obote, with whom he more recently had had rather strained relations. Was he not then in the same position General Amin Dada was in when the latter in January 1971 seized power from this same Milton Obote?

The post of chief of staff has not yet been filled. Tribal rivalries, particularly between the Acholis and the Langis — two ethnic groups in the northern part of the country — who make up the bulk of the troops, are holding up the choice of a successor. More divided than ever, the army has been placed under the "command" of Gen Tito Okello, whom many observers consider to be an old fogey. To dissociate himself from its excesses, Mr Obote is in the habit of saying: "It wasn't I who created this army." It is true that it is a liberation army, assembled in a great hurry out of all sorts of components, with very composite and at times hardly recommendable elements, to oust Amin Dada from power. Left to themselves and governed by neither loyalty nor law, these soldiers soon began to abuse the authority conferred on them by the wearing of an indeterminate uniform.

Many people doubt that it is possible to recuperate these "lost soldiers." Assistance in the training of military cadres, provided up until March 1984 by certain Commonwealth countries and since then by the British, is not enough to deal with the problem. The degree of anarchy is such that even the notion of

a Ugandan Army could not be vaguer. No one is capable of saying how many men it is composed of: "Maybe 15,000, maybe 50,000," a diplomat pondered uncertainly. These soldiers seem to be all the less disposed to sober up since they are probably afraid of in that way involving themselves in a process at the end of which they would lose control over events and would then have to pay very dearly for their bad behavior.

This fear of revenge which some bad advisors employ seems to stir them up: "It's them or you" leads them to other excesses.

In the final analysis this divided, disorganized and frightened army is somehow a "trump card" for Mr Obote's regime. It is in fact a priori neither in his power nor his interest to change the status quo. It is also advisable for it to remain in condition to repel rebellion. Despite everything, the example of Guinea recently demonstrated that a weak and belittled army could hold unpleasant surprises in store for the government in power. "When Amin Dada launched his coup, he didn't have the country's units behind him," a native remarked.

For the time being Uganda displays the external signs of a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. The DP has formed a "shadow cabinet" and plays the role of "opposition to His Majesty." As such, Mr Ssemogerere has the benefit of a house, an office, an official car and a bodyguard. There is a free press, like the weekly MUNNANSI or the Catholic daily MUNNO, which does not refrain from criticizing the government in terms that are sometimes very severe. So, what are people complaining about?

This is actually a false front. After many manipulations, the day after the December 1980 elections the DP saw itself assigned 51 seats in the National Assembly. Today only 35 deputies occupy opposition seats. Eight of them joined the UPC, the party in power, three are in exile, two are in prison, two were murdered, one has been missing since last 27 January. That is to say that the exercise of a parliamentary mandate is a perilous affair if one finds oneself on the wrong side of the fence.

As for the so-called free press, it pays very dearly for its existence. The government pursues a policy of intimidation against it: police raids, arrests of journalists, confiscations of machines, thefts of documents, looting of premises. MUNNANSI, which has a press run of 16,000 copies in English and in Luganda, appears in the form of mimeographed sheets since the government withdrew its authorization to publish a real newspaper in September 1981.

Why maintain this liberal, anachronistic facade on the African continent where the single-party system is the rule almost everywhere? Perhaps the authorities in Kampala are in this way trying to at least expense satisfy the good conscience of the international community from which they are requesting aid to revive an economy ruined by Amin Dada? "Within the governing team there are also a few reasonable people who preach moderation," they admitted at the DP. All the same, in this system the government in power is better able to identify its adversaries than in an openly authoritarian regime where everyone is on his guard.

Only this "Uganda-style democracy" is more dangerous. It actually incites opponents to reveal themselves and thus to expose themselves to the attacks of a government which then shows its true colors. Even though a certain ethnic proportionment has prevailed in the sharing of responsibilities, today it is the Nilotic tribes, settled in the northern part of the country, who have precedence over the Bantu tribes, settled in the south. United with the latter are the Bugandas, among whom the DP recruits a good many of its partisans. These Bugandas have not yet forgiven Mr Obote for having deposed the kabaka, their sovereign, in May 1966. Now they represent almost a third of the total population. It is therefore difficult to govern without them and a fortiori against them and to govern from Kampala, the former kingdom of Buganda. The chief of state had also thought of moving the capital to the north, in his native district of Apach in Lango country.

A Democratic Comedy

DP members, of Christian Democratic allegiance, would like to as it were moralize this political battle against a tribal backdrop. "We must absolutely avoid falling into the vicious cycle of violence," Mr Ssemogerere insisted. "Unfortunately, Mr Obote refuses to make peace with his chief adversaries. For him, national reconciliation simply means rallying to the UPC." Even though "the good will of (his) party has not been recompensed," the leader of the opposition did not assert that he was convinced: "We have been in existence for 30 years, despite the government," he explained. "We are the oldest African party, after the African National Congress (ANC). Like the Church of Uganda, we will survive, even the persecutions."

Should the DP continue to play the walk-ons in this democratic comedy? The debate is open. Mr Ssemogerere did not conceal the fact that "the next round of elections, announced for 1985, will be much tougher than those of 1980. Our electoral reform proposal has indeed just been rejected without debate in Parliament." The opposition would be ready to take its chances if a broad amnesty were to put an end to the violence and if, moreover, the army were to stop lining up behind the UPC banner. There is really little chance that these requests will be agreed to. So, will it withdraw from the game?

"The Aid Weapon"

Powerless to change the course of affairs from within, many Ugandans are counting on the international community to help them do so from without. "Why not use the weapon of aid to force the authorities in Kampala to restore peace?" an observer suggested. "Our foreign friends took 6 long years to react against Amin Dada. Will they need as much time to realize what is going on here today?" Blackmail by means of aid? Perhaps. But how are they going to get the country out of the depths into which the previous regime had plunged it without first laying the bases for a policy of national reconciliation?

"We can't wait for this reconciliation," a UN expert hurled back at us. "We have to put up money right away, even though we know that there'll be big losses." In fact, during the period from 1979 to 1982 the international community provided Uganda with a total amount of aid averaging \$372 million a

year, \$401 million last year. The need for outside aid for 1990 is estimated at \$541 million. Servicing the debt alone has reached an alarming percentage: In 1983 it represented 51.6 percent of all exports of goods and services.

This massive aid has not produced a "takeoff" for the country, despite what rising economic indicators let seem to be the case: National per capita income is a third lower than the 1970 level. Industrial firms are operating at less than 30 percent of capacity. Roughly speaking, Uganda pays its oil bill with the revenue obtained from coffee sales and for the rest depends artificially on the outside world. There are no private investments. The only sector in which money can be rapidly made is trade and the Indo-Pakistanis are not the last to have realized this.

Insecurity is evidently hindering development. According to an official report, activities engaged in to preserve law and order in 1982-1983 "devoured" a fourth of the budget as well as "a large proportion" of extrabudgetary expenditures. In 1982 43 percent of all government imports benefited the Ministry of Defense. This anarchy disturbs economic channels: They manage to get less than half of the coffee harvest out of the highly productive regions like the Mengo, exposed to guerrilla actions. The price of bananas, a basic foodstuff of the Ugandans, is three times higher in Kampala than in the surrounding countryside. "It's very hard for us to get experts to come here, even for missions of short duration," a diplomat noted.

Uganda is going to the dogs. The fall of Amin Dada has not fundamentally changed the political and economic landscape. In a climate of violence like this, can the international community continue to participate, as though nothing had happened, in a mission whose end it will never see, in a reconstruction that is constantly reinitiated?

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